1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

633 495 161 to service the hundreds of trucks and busses which are transforming the transportation of the interior. Both cities reflected their growing function by a great increase in population between 1940 and 1950.

633 [162] Cachoeira-São Félix, 16,697 people in 1950,[34] and Santo Amaro, 12,258 people in 1950, are respectively the fourth and fifth largest cities in the Recôncavo and the eighth and tenth largest cities in Bahia. [443] Both of these cities are important agricultural and marketing centers within the Recôncavo, and both are notable historical centers. Santo Amaro was the great local social and economic focus of the slave-holding engenho sugar culture of the Central Recôncavo. Cachoeira was the major local center of the Western Recôncavo and of the tobacco economy throughout colonial times. While these cities maintain some of their former importance, they are mainly cities of the past, growing at a much slower rate than most urban centers. Both cities 633 496 lie at or near the head of navigation,[35] and both are on the rail- 494 road which runs from Salvador to the western interior. The construction of the railroad and the development of automotive transport apparently have been important factors in the declining importance of these cities, for it is no longer necessary to trans-ship goods brought down from the interior into boats at these places. The 633 railroads and trucks move the goods directly to Salvador.[36] At present [565] these cities function as local trade centers, as minor industrial centers--Cachoeira-São Félix in tobacco; Santo Amaro in sugar--and as the residences of decadent upper class families whose fortunes declined with the disappearance of the slave-holding agricultural systems.

The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

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The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

	1950 Population
Maragogipe	9,744
Muritiba	7,452
Cruz das Almas	6,758
São Gonçalo	3,771

are all local trade and cigar manufacturing centers. Maragogipe is a port of minor importance.[37] The other urban centers have inland locations, near the inner edge of the Crystalline Uplands.[38]

Near the Recôncavo are four urban centers which have minor but appreciable effect upon its agricultural economy:

	1950 Population
Santo Antônio de Jesus	11,417
Nazaré	11,215
Castro Alves	6,479
Serrinha	4,602

Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré are located along the southern periphery of the Recôncavo, and Castro Alves and Serrinha on the southwestern and northwestern periphery, respectively. All these centers are on one of Bahia's two main railroads, both of which terminate at the Bay--at Salvador or at São Roque do Paraguaçu.[39]

In 1950 the nine major urban centers of the Recôncavo had 100,000 to 120,000 workers in industry, transportation, and merchandising.[40] In all cities of the Recôncavo, except Salvador, the industrial workers almost exclusively were engaged in processing agricultural products--in sugar refining, cigar manufacturing, and slaughtering. Except for some of the animals slaughtered in Feira de Santana and the poorer grades of tobacco brought in from the sertão, these agricultural products originate in the Recôncavo.

The industrial structure of Salvador is more complex. It processes agricultural products from the Recôncavo, but also from other parts of the state, notably cacao. There is a small textile industry. It is probable that the majority of the industrial workers are employed in numerous small service industries which supply Salvador

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241 over the forest or the caatinga. In most areas it is the second growth, not the cultivated fields, which dominates the landscape.

241 361 443 634 The scale of the maps accompanying the following sections does not allow the indication of one of the significant patterns of cropland distribution in the Recôncavo—the concentration of cultivation around the cidades, the political centers. Each cidade is the economic focus of its município and is usually the primary market for the products of its cultivators. The poorly developed system of transportation in the [489] rural areas puts a premium on proximity to the market center. Thus in most of the municípios there is a decrease in cultivation away from the cidade, and where the municípios are large, such as on the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo, cropland becomes very widely scattered 241 before the political boundary is reached. This centralized distribution 361 443 of cropland has been complicated by the development of roads and truck 491 traffic. Cultivators tend to cluster along the main highways with little regard for the absolute distance to the market of the cidade; accessibility as represented by time rather than distance seems to be the more important factor in choosing land for cultivation, providing that land is available. The pattern of concentration of cultivation along the highway is especially characteristic of the Upland sections of the Recôncavo.[1]

241 198 There are many exceptions to the modes of cropland distribution mentioned above. In the Recôncavo tradition and prestige often contravene direct economic self-interest. On a large scale the persistence of sugar cultivation is an example of the unwillingness to explore new sources of income. In other areas the traditional social advantages of land ownership may impede the subdivision of large properties into farms or rented plots, even where hired labor is not available to 000 cultivate the land efficiently. Livestock production, which offers

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244 433 311 manioc and produced 38 per cent of its 393,720 tons of harvested roots. Within this sub-region manioc occupied up to 20 per cent of the total land area, i.e., 20 hectares per square kilometer (Map 23). Despite the [249] intensity of cultivation and the concentration of production, the crop is viewed by the people primarily as a means--subsistence--to an end--[242] leaf tobacco production.[9] Manioc characteristically succeeds tobacco in the field and fallow rotation system and is used to extract the maximum possible value from such nutrients as remain in the soil.[10]

244 249 A close areal and functional relationship between the two crops is characteristic also of the linear zone of manioc cultivation which follows the belt of Intermediate Hills and the inner edge of the Uplands from the Rio Paraguaçu--at Cachoeira--to Irará. Much the same relationship exists in Santo Estêvão in the extreme west of the Recôncavo, where manioc, and tobacco, cultivation is concentrated in a zone of low serras. Apparently tobacco cultivation has been fixed by the greater precipitation around these serras, and manioc is grown in association.

The major southwestern concentration of manioc is continued beyond the Recôncavo along a belt extending through Santo Antônio and into the "coffee zone."[11] The cluster of manioc around the cidade of Santo Antônio is circum-urban, but the principal functional association is with tobacco cultivation, rather than with the small urban market. [443] On the other hand, the concentration of manioc production around the city of Nazaré reflects a dependency on the local urban market and probably on the market of Salvador. Minor concentrations of cultivation in northern Itaparica and around Salvador also are related primarily to the market of the capital city.

244 311 The relative place of manioc within the agricultural system, as measured by the per cent of the total cropland which it occupies, varies widely within the Recôncavo (Map 26). The statistical extremes are

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245 311 Within the Recôncavo coconut production is important along the sandy beach line of the island of Itaparica and along the ocean coast of Salvador, where coconuts are virtually the only agricultural product [133] (Maps 58, 59, and 60). The inner shores of the Bay, which rise abruptly [134] with rocky clay slopes, bear very few coconuts, except in a low-lying sandy zone along the estuary of the Paraguaçu. Coconuts are produced 245 [423] chiefly on large properties which are frequently owned by urban families. [464] The plantations are operated with hired labor drawn from the coastal [438] population. When harvested, the coconuts are sold in the urban markets [258] of Salvador and other cities and towns. Very little of the Recôncavo [439] production is converted into oil, and little is exported.

Oranges. The navel orange is a Bahian development, a mutation [433] of the orange brought from Europe. The main centers of Brazilian production, however, are elsewhere in the country, and cultivation of oranges within the Recôncavo is primarily for local consumption.

245 311 Scattered orange trees are a feature of the rural and urban landscape in many areas. In addition to this generalized cultivation, which frequently is not shown in the official data, there is commercial production in the environs of several urban centers—Alagoinhas, Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent, Salvador (Maps 61 and 62). The [489] [443] cidades of Alagoinhas and Santo Antônio are both markets for part of the local crop; moreover, both are on the railroads leading to Salvador, which is the chief market for the entire region. In addition to these three main concentrations, there are numerous orange groves in the Southwestern Recôncavo which apparently serve both local and regional markets, though on a small scale. In general the relative area in orange groves is not great, yet in 1948 they occupied 10 per cent of the cropland of Alagoinhas.

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245 438 [471] Oranges, like coconuts, are usually grown on plantations. The capital investment in tree crops is usually too great for small cultivators. Moreover, as a highly perishable crop, oranges require more or less direct marketing, which is frequently beyond the capacity of the small grower. If oranges were marketed by trickling from the small grower through the hands of merchants, buyers, and the like, as is tobacco, they would be spoiled long before reaching the consumer. The small cultivator can market his handful of oranges only in the local market.

241 433 [262] [443] [489] Supplementary Crops. Although the official data show only a very limited distribution of minor supplementary crops, their cultivation is not confined to those municípios where exceptionally conscientious statistical agents have made detailed records. The common vegetables--green beans, onions, garlic, and tomatoes--are cultivated in small quantities in all parts of the Recôncavo and are a traditional part of Bahian dishes. Around the cities and towns there is some specialization in vegetable farming, but there are no major concentrations. The Salvador market is supplied with produce from a broad rural zone which includes most of the Recôncavo. The produce is brought to the city by donkey, truck, or by sailing boat.

[134] The most important of the supplementary commercial crops is pineapple, which is produced on the sandy soils of the Northern, and to a lesser extent, Southwestern Recôncavo. There is very scattered production of grapes, cotton, rice, and white potatoes, but there are no important centers of cultivation of these crops.

245 311 Minor Spontaneous Tree Crops. Mangoes are very common within the houseyards of Salvador and throughout the humid Coastal Plain. In

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245 [311] Most coconuts are grown on moderate-sized plantations along the beaches in sands, or occasionally in sandy loams. North of Salvador they are grown on dunes and beaches and, back from the sea, in sandy stream valleys where the supply of ground water is generous. There seems to be little selection in choosing coconuts for reproduction. Usually the nuts are planted eight meters or so apart, with a pile of organic trash over and around the nut to provide some additional fertility and to hold the moisture necessary for germination. The sprout must be protected from foraging animals, but once growth is well started, the tree receives little attention and no fertilization.

[433] Yields are moderate to low, from 15 to 40 per tree. Apparently the yields per tree are substantially higher (double) in the Bay area--Itaparica and Camassari--than in the area farther north--Mata de São João and Esplanada. In the Bay area the nuts are usually sold in the markets [443] of Salvador without processing.

241 198 Conclusion. The basic determinant of cultivation practices in the Recôncavo is custom. This is probably less true of the cultivation of sugar than of other crops, but the weight of tradition is heavy [454] upon all agricultural enterprises. It may be said that many relatively primitive agricultural practices survive because of ignorance of newer techniques and because of a lack of capital for investment in new tools, in machinery, in better seed, and in permanent land improvement. The importance of these factors in limiting change in Recôncavo agriculture, particularly as general factors operating indirectly upon individual cultivators and individual farms is not to be denied.

However, when the individual cultivator--sugar planter or tobacco share-cropper--is given an opportunity, in the form of new techniques and the necessary capital, to change and improve his operations and

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CHAPTER VII

ANIMAL INDUSTRY

BB 231 433 BB [435] Although the Recôncavo is primarily a subsistence and commercial crop region, livestock play a significant role in the agricultural economy as beasts of burden and as a source of animal products. In 1948 there were about 800,000 to 850,000 livestock—cattle, sheep, goats, horses, asses, and mules—in the region, and the value of animal production was about Cr.$60,000,000.[1] Thus animals accounted for about 17 per cent of the total value of all agricultural products of the Recôncavo. About one quarter of the livestock were work animals essential to the operation of the agricultural economy—oxen, horses, asses, and mules.[2]

BB NB 231 233 442 443 The livestock industry of the Recôncavo is closely associated with the extensive livestock ranching economy of the Brazilian northeastern interior. In Bahia, as in most parts of Brazil, the sertão of the interior is a source region of livestock. The animals are driven from the sertão to the coastal nuclei of dense settlement and sold in the cattle market—in the Recôncavo, at the market of Feira de Santana. A portion of the cattle are slaughtered immediately to provide food for the large agricultural population, but a substantial number of cattle and the horses, asses, and mules are retained as work animals. The working cattle—oxen—are eventually slaughtered.

BB 231 Certain outlying parts of the Recôncavo share with the sertão in the role of producing livestock for the coastal market zone. Other areas, especially around Feira de Santana, function as fattening zones in which the cattle recuperate after the long drives from the interior.

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231 The production of asses, mules, and horses is concentrated outside the Recôncavo. Apparently most of the work animals used in the Recôncavo-oxen as well as asses, mules, and horses--were born on the Sertão and were the products of the same ranches which produce beef animals.

In distinction to these larger animals, swine are produced in large number within the Recôncavo. Moreover, they are almost exclusively the products of small enterprises--pigs are raised in ones and twos by small farmers. They eat the household waste and root in the abandoned fields and the second growth. When they are mature or when the need for [443] cash is pressing, they are sold in the local market, either alive or slaughtered.

Most of the livestock of the Recôncavo are descendent from animals introduced into the Northeast during colonial times. In general [232] there has been little deliberate selection of strains--those animals which have survived disease, insect pests, prolonged semi-starvation, and casual abuse have conferred their characteristics upon the present generation. Thus, most of the livestock are scrubby and inbred, inefficient producers of meat, milk, or energy.

Cattle. The total cattle population of the Recôncavo was 395,000 head in 1948, and the number was still growing. There were [433] almost three times as many cattle in the region as swine, the next most numerous animal, and the value of cattle production far exceeded that of other livestock.

Almost all of the cattle of the Recôncavo are of the unspecialized and ubiquitous Indo-Brazilian strain--rangy animals with long horns and a moderate hump, hardy and strong but not producers of large quantities of either meat or milk. Oxen of the same breed are important in [234] the sugar zone and in Feira de Santana, and both beef and milk cattle

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231 [234] are found in all parts of the Recôncavo, although dairying is not a highly developed enterprise. It should be noted, however, that both oxen and milk cows usually end their careers in the slaughter house.

No município in the Recôncavo had less than 2,500 cattle in 1948, but there were only two important concentrations (Map 78). The largest of these was in Feira de Santana, chiefly around the cidade. Forty per cent of all cattle in the Recôncavo were held in this area. The second, and much smaller, concentration was in the sugar cane region, with about 8 per cent of the cattle of the Recôncavo. In order effectively to differentiate these concentrations and between them and the basal distribution of the rest of the Recôncavo, it is necessary to discuss briefly the specialized forms of livestock enterprise.

[492] (1) In the sugar zone a very large percentage (probably 70 to 90 per cent) of the cattle are oxen used as labor in the cane fields (Map 79). Since these animals are grass-fed exclusively--no grain is used--and since there are many disease problems, it is necessary to maintain a large local reserve so that day to day rotation is possible. In addition, the larger enterprises maintain ranches on which oxen and other labor animals, purchased in the Sertão or at Feira de Santana, are conditioned and at which ailing or weak animals recuperate. When they are no longer useful as draft animals, the oxen are butchered and sold to the local agricultural laborers. Only small quantities of milk 234 443 are produced in this zone.

(2) Salvador, and to a lesser extent Feira de Santana, have milk sheds of importance (Map 80). In addition, a very small milk shed surrounds each cidade, although Cachoeira-São Félix is not well endowed in this respect.[4] The marketing of milk is local--the only exception discovered was the sale in Salvador of milk from the município of Camassari. The dairy industry around Salvador is relatively

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The dairy industry around Salvador is relatively large-scale, as is evident in the size and number of tank trucks which peddle milk through the streets of the city, and which bear the name of local fazendas. However, the milk has a low butter-fat content, is unpasteurized, and it is expensive, and many people use powdered milk which is imported from other parts of Brazil and abroad. The Salvador dairy industry is large-scale only in relation to the small-scale operations in other parts of the region, where the small quantities of available milk are carried to the cidades on mules or asses and sold from house to house.

(3) Feira de Santana is the principal cattle market not only of the Recôncavo but also of the state of Bahia. To its market (campo de gado) are driven the cattle of the northern sertão of Bahia and from as far west as the mountains. Before or after sale many of these cattle are rested and fattened on the pastures around the cidade so that the cattle population is large but fluid. Some of these cattle are butchered locally, but many are driven to Salvador before slaughter.

(4) In all other parts of the Recôncavo small-scale animal husbandry is very common. Many small farmers, sharecroppers, or renters have one or two cows and sometimes a calf. The milk, if any, is used either by the family or sold in the cidade. In addition, there are a few large cattle ranches, usually producing both milk and beef cattle. Thus the unspecialized livestock economy of most of the Recôncavo is distinct from the labor animal concentration in the sugar zone, the Salvador milk shed, and the market animal concentration around Feira de Santana.

The pattern of distribution of cattle outside the Recôncavo is not markedly different from that of the adjacent areas within the region. In this respect Mata de São João is like Pojuca, Castro Alves like Santo Estêvão, and Nazaré like São Felix-Maragogipe. However, the

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231 Summary--Livestock Produced for Animal Products. Except for the oxen, all the animals discussed above are raised for meat or for other animal products rather than for use as beasts of burden. The distribution of these animals, without regard to kind, is summarized on the accompanying map of non-work animals (Map 84).

Feira de Santana has the outstanding concentration of these non-work animals in the Recôncavo and, undoubtedly, in Bahia. To a considerable degree this concentration signalizes the importance of the sertão as a producer of livestock and of the Recôncavo as a consumer, since many of the animals around Feira de Santana are transients moving from the former to the latter. The principal market served by [443] Feira de Santana is the city of Salvador, but the rural areas of all the Recôncavo north of the Bay and the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu also secure much of their livestock through the campo de gado at "Feira."

The only other concentration of livestock raised for animal products is in the Southwestern Recôncavo. Most of these animals are [433] used to feed the large local population within the sub-region, which seems to be relatively self-sufficient as far as livestock production is concerned.

231 492 Asses and Mules. Asses and mules combined are the most numerous and widely distributed work animals in the Recôncavo. There were in 1948 about 115,000 of these two animals in the region (Map 85). Over one-half were found in Feira de Santana, where they are raised locally in large numbers and where animals brought from the Sertão are conditioned for sale. The asses and mules of the Recôncavo are both very small animals and are generally used as burden carriers, although the larger mules--still very small by United States standards--are used as riding animals.

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CHAPTER X

MARKETING, TRANSPORTATION, AND PROCESSING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

44 Introduction. The institutions of marketing, processing, and transportation in the Recôncavo are of two basic types, local and regional. Those which serve the local economies, that is, the municípios, are traditional. These are the municipal market and the casa de farinha [178] (manioc mill). The institutions which serve the regional economy--sugar and tobacco processing plants and marketing systems--have their traditional element but have been extensively modified in the last half 489 century. Much the same division is reflected in the transportation systems of the Recôncavo, for although the chief media within the local economies are essentially traditional and primitive, the transportation 128 net of the region as a whole has a number of modern features. The discussion which follows will deal with the various institutions which have developed in the Recôncavo to accommodate the marketing, transportation, and processing of the more important agricultural products.

• 443 Marketing of Agricultural Products. Municipal markets play an important role in the exchange of the agricultural products in the Recôncavo as in most of Brazil. Large quantities of agricultural goods are sold within the local area in which they are produced, and much of this exchange takes place within the municipal market. The feira is the regular open market which usually is held once a week in the smaller centers but somewhat more frequently in the larger cities. It [364] is usually housed in a public building, the municipal mercado. The other type of municipal market is the matadôuro municipál (slaughter

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443 house). The municipal markets of the Recôncavo have a highly institutionalized character supported by long tradition. There have been [178] very few modifications in the local marketing system either to accept new products or to incorporate new techniques. Despite their highly institutionalized character, markets serve to accommodate and to re-enforce and stabilize the basic personal relationships between buyer and seller. Thus it is both difficult and misleading to approach marketing from a purely economic point of view.

Weekly markets (feiras) are held in every villa and cidade of the Recôncavo. Each of these feiras has a specified day and location. Usually the market of the cidade will be held on a different day than those of the villas of the locality, and usually adjacent cidades have their markets on different days. This arrangement facilitates the marketing of surplus products and makes it possible for itinerant buyers and sellers to travel from feira to feira. The market place [366] of most cidades and of the larger villas includes a public building [347] and the adjacent streets, and in some cases, a corral. Usually the market building itself is a large shed with open windows and doors, earthen or concrete floor, and no internal divisions except those provided by the pillars which support the roof. Stalls are sometimes provided in the newer or more pretentious buildings, but this is exceptional. Generally the market is located on a main square or a principal street. On the day of the feira, market activities expand beyond the main buildings and onto the streets, covering an area of about one city block in a typical center.

Participation in the feira is practically universal--the rural areas of the município, or the distrito if it is a villa market, are half emptied on market day. At sunrise or even earlier the farm families, or sometimes only the farmer, his wife, or child, begin

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443 [492] the journey to the market. The produce are carried by the individual or on the back of an ass or mule. By early morning all the roads are thronged with the people of the countryside and their animals moving toward the center. It is a gala social occasion in which the warm, lighthearted personal relationships of the lower class Baianos are evident. Upon arrival at the market, a cloth is spread on the floor or ground in a customary spot, and the offerings of the people are displayed. Very soon the townspeople--chiefly housewives and servants--enter the market area to inspect the offerings and haggle over their [442] purchases of food and other agricultural products. Also moving through the market are the wholesale buyers, both local and itinerant. As their agricultural products are sold, the country people, too, begin to circulate through the area to purchase goods and talk with their friends and relatives. The market is a seething array of animals and people weaving their way between the displays of produce. In the smaller centers, most of the local products are sold by mid-day, and the rural people begin their journey home, a trip of as much as twenty kilometers.

443 438 The products which are generally sold in the markets of the cidades and villas are shown below:

Local Agricultural Products - Unprocessed

Staples:
Corn, black beans, sweet potatoes, aipim (a sweet manioc used like white potatoes)

Meat:
Fresh beef and pork

Vegetables:
Such as onions, string beans, tomatoes, and local specialties

Fruits:
Especially oranges, bananas (including plantains), papayas, and mangoes

Coffee

Coconuts

Live Animals:
Especially chickens and pigs, but also draft animals.

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443 Local Agricultural Products - Processed
438 Farinha de mandioca (manioc flour)
Rapadura (crude sugar)
Requeijão (country cheese)
Hand-made cigars.

Non-Local Agricultural Products
Azete de dende (palm oil)
Rice
Charque (dried beef)
Spices
Fumo em corda (rope tobacco)
Animals:
Especially draft animals from the sertão
Leather.

Non-Agricultural Products
Food - dried fish
Extractive products:
Charcoal, honey, vegetable waxes
Farm equipment:
Bridles, saddles, agricultural implements--hoes, knives, etc.
Clothing:
Sandles, shoes, shirts, and trousers
Pottery and kitchen utensils
Miscellaneous cheap jewelry, plastic and wood products, patent medicines, cigarettes, straw mats, etc.

443 Those products of local agriculture which are not marketed through the feira or through specialized agencies are sold to the vendas (small general stores). In distinction to the feiras, which are confined to the villages and urban centers, vendas are found even in rural areas. These vendas are privately owned stores which sell staple foods, machetes and hoes, seed, household utensils, and a few simple luxury items, such as soap, candy, cigarettes, cigars, soft drinks, and alcoholic beverages. As would be expected, the vendas away from the urban centers carry but a limited stock of goods. There is usually a
443 continuing credit arrangement between the shopkeeper and the agricul-
452 turalist; most of the harvest of basic crops is pledged in advance against the debts of the cultivator and frequently the crop is pledged even before it is planted. In many cases the shopkeeper is the agent for the tobacco buyer, in whose name the necessary credit is advanced.

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443 Many shopkeepers are also land owners, and their tenants as a matter 452 of course are also their customers and their debtors. The livestock 427 raised by the agriculturalist may be sold on the hoof at the feira or taken to the matadouro municipal (municipal slaughter house). The meat is sold either at the slaughter house or at the feira.

In the larger centers the market tends to last throughout the week. In the medium-sized centers there are a few offerings each morning, and often there is a small feira in the middle of the week. Some major cities, such as Cachoeira, Feira de Santana, Santo Amaro, and Salvador, have source areas larger than their municípios. For 489 example, the market at Feira de Santana invariably draws scores of 494 trucks, each laden with people and produce, from places as distant as Cruz das Almas, Ipirá, Serrinha, and Santo Amaro. The most important general market in the Recôncavo is the Saturday feira at Agua de Meninos in Salvador. This market is located on the low-lying tidal flats 505 beside the Bay, and many of the agricultural products which are sold 489 here are brought by sailing boats. Trucks, carts, streetcars, trains, 494 and pack animals are also used to transport produce to this market. It is here that a very large portion of Salvador's population purchases the agricultural products of the Recôncavo. This market is also the source of supply of the street vendors who hawk fruits and vegetables through the streets of the city. Salvador also has a smaller central market--the Mercado Modelo--and a number of minor neighborhood markets which usually are open for part of each day.

442 The campo de gado (cattle fair) at Feira de Santana is the only 443 important specialized public market in the Recôncavo; and, as has been 233 seen, it plays a very critical role in the agricultural economy of the region and of the state. On Monday mornings thousands of cattle change hands in the pens and weighing compounds at this fair.[1] Because the

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442 443 233 campo de gado draws vaqueiros (cowboys) and ranchers from the sertão as well as agriculturalists and buyers from the Recôncavo, the nearby municipal market has a tributary area which is much larger than the município, indeed, much larger than the Recôncavo. The sertão and the Recôncavo exchange goods on a large scale in these markets. From the sertão come cattle and other animals, hides and skins, various extractive products, such as waxes, and the fumo em corda tobacco of the interior of northern Bahia. From the Recôncavo come food, especially bananas, coconuts, and sugar, and various manufactured articles which have been brought from South-Central Brazil via Salvador. Adjoining the campo de gado is an open lot where horses, mules, and all the accoutrements of the vaqueiro--bridles, saddles, and leather clothing--can be purchased.

249 471 438 A good deal of the sugar cane which is cultivated in the Recôncavo is grown by the usinas on their own properties. In other cases the cane plantations and processing plant are owned by different members of the same family, and the whole enterprise is operated on a profit-sharing basis. It cannot be said of either of these arrangements, which account for most of the cane harvested in the Recôncavo, that there is a genuine market situation. A truer market relationship exists for the few remaining fornecedores (suppliers) who grow cane and sell it to the usinas. Very commonly, however, these "independent" cane producers are indebted to the sugar company in both the economic and social sense. Moreover, the fornecedore is very much at the mercy of the company because of the lack of alternative markets and the difficulties of transportation. The cane which is purchased by the usinas on a contract basis must have a specified quality and must be delivered to the usina at its convenience by the supplier. It is likely that the mounting debts of many fornecedores will soon force them to sell

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

but also because the manioc roots are too heavy and bulky to be transported over long distances. Moreover, the market for farinha de mandioca is generally local, except in the Southwestern Recôncavo.

The capital investment in a casa de farinha is small, usually less than one hundred dollars, but this sum is far beyond the reach of most cultivators. The mills are built by owners of medium-sized land holdings or local merchants, and are operated on a share basis. The mill owner usually receives one-tenth of the finished product in exchange for the use of the mill equipment. The customer rents the equipment rather than the service and must therefore provide the labor, although the owner usually furnishes one or two workers. Generally the processing of manioc is a family operation in which the women and girls scrape the roots and the men and boys perform the more arduous tasks.

Most of the tobacco which is grown in the Recôncavo is exported in the form of leaf. Therefore, the processing of tobacco is less important in relation to the cultivation of tobacco than is the processing of manioc and sugar in relation to their respective cultivation. The leaf tobacco which is retained in the area is made into cigars in home industries and in a number of cigar factories. The home-produced cigars are made by tobacco cultivators and small-scale processors in the villages, towns, and cities of the region. These cigars are generally very cheap and are sold in the local mercado (market) or in small vendas (shops). It is difficult to assess the total importance of this form of processing, but it seems likely that the number of cigars so made is extremely large.

The cigar factories of the Recôncavo are located in the cidades of São Gonçalo, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Maragogipe. Each of the factories employs from 100 to 200 workers, usually women from the surrounding area. Machines are used to produce the cheaper grades;

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

277 the more expensive varieties are hand made. The fillers and inner wrappers of the cigars are made from local tobaccos. Local leaf also [439] is used to a very limited extent for the outer wrappers, but almost all of the high quality cigars are made from wrapper leaf imported [471] from Havana, Sumatra, or the Connecticut Valley. The ownership of all the cigar factories is concentrated in three companies, all of which [439] have their headquarters in Salvador. The cigars produced in the Recôncavo are sold throughout Brazil.

182 43 44 184 Conclusion. Many of the features of the systems of marketing, transportation, and processing which are characteristic of the Recôncavo are effective in unifying the region. In particular, the centralized marketing and economic control of the production and processing of tobacco and sugar draw both the tobacco and manioc region and the sugar cane region closer to Salvador. At the same time, the differences in marketing techniques and the separate channels of control which are associated with these two products accentuate the sub-regional pattern 182 438 443 184 of the two crop regions. The system of general marketing exemplified by the municipal markets might at first glance seem to be a focus for local rather than regional interests. However, as has been seen, there are itinerant merchants who pass from market to market throughout the Recôncavo. Moreover, the major public markets, such as Feira de Santana and Salvador, draw large numbers of people from most of the rural sections. Even the local marketing institutions contribute to the identification of the people of this area with the region.

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In the surrounding sertão livestock production is the areally and, in many cases, economically dominant activity; the Recôncavo is primarily a region of crop cultivation.

The Recôncavo is a functional unit in the economic organization of commercial agriculture and marketing. Salvador, with one-third of the people of the region, is the primary market center. The credit essential to the production of tobacco passes from the city to the countryside, while the leaf is either shipped to the city for export or is sent to local cigar factories controlled by Salvador companies. Similarly, the headquarters of the sugar industry and the chief market for its products is Salvador. Feira de Santana is also a functional center for the region, since in its markets the agricultural and industrial products which either originate in the Recôncavo or are imported through Salvador are exchanged for the livestock, crops, and extractive products of the sertão.

Many of the features of the agricultural system of the Recôncavo are also characteristic of Brazil. Both the land rotation system and the permanent monoculture are basic Brazilian agricultural systems. Agricultural technology, in the Recôncavo and in most parts of Brazil, is relatively backward. Brazilian agriculture is labor extravagant, and there is a constant falta de braços, but with few attempts at mechanization. Agriculture is highly speculative, whether tobacco in the Recôncavo or coffee in São Paulo. The large property—latifundia—and the class organization with which it is associated are important in the region and in the country as a whole. There are large numbers of semi-dependent small cultivators in the Recôncavo as in other parts of Brazil. Both the region and the nation are very dependent upon the sale of agricultural products to distant markets.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX D

Changes in Crop Data

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[659] The crop data in Produção Agrícola: 1948 were gathered by statistical agencies of the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística established in each cidade of Bahia and of most other states in Brazil. The quality of statistical data assembled is highly variable, depending in part upon the efficiency of the agent but also upon the size of the município and upon whether the products are easily assessable, or are marketed locally, and a number of other factors. In a number of cases it has been necessary to modify obviously erroneous parts of the official data, which were sometimes contradictory and sometimes at variance with the agricultural pattern as determined by field investigation. This usually has been done by interpolating from other more creditable data from the same basic source or from other sources. In the following pages the important changes which have been made in the data for various crops will be discussed, and maps based upon the original data will be presented.

When the data for area, production, and value were combined to determine yield and price, and these relationships were mapped, certain obvious errors and a number of clues to the direction and extent of error were discernible because the general outline of price and yield pattern in the Recôncavo was clear. Generally one of the three base figures--area, production, or value--was accepted as valid and the others adjusted to bring yield and/or price into line. Because of an almost complete lack of property surveys, the crop area data are at best a gross estimate and liable to great error. On the other hand, [443] [659] the location of the statistical bureau in the cidades, usually the primary market, does give opportunity to make reasonably close estimates of value and production, at least of marketed crops.

It must be remembered that these figures include the capital city, the population of which is about 450,000. If this is subtracted from the total population of the Recôncavo, the average density of the Recôncavo is approximately 27 persons per square kilometer.

Vila Recôncavo, the community of this study, is part of a county located 41 kilometers across the bay from Salvador. The community includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, which is the county seat, and the surrounding rural zone. Throughout the study we will be dealing with these two components of the sugar-cane plantation community, sometimes separately and sometimes together.

The only public transportation to the town is by boat from the capital, a three-hour trip across the bay, threading through numerous islands. The major part of the trip is made on remarkably blue water, usually serenely calm but occasionally violently agitated, especially during the winter. One-, two-, and three-masted sailing vessels and an occasional large sailing canoe, the centuries-old methods of transportation in Bahia, are passed on their way into the city, carrying fruit, vegetables, pottery, firewood, fish, tobacco, manioc flour, and sugar to the more than four hundred thousand people of the city, as they have done since the early colonization of the Recôncavo. The only new element in the scene is the small diesel boat which makes the trip back and forth across the bay, outward bound one day and returning the next with the outgoing tide.

As the boat nears the luxuriantly green, palm-crested islands, stopping at several to discharge the mail, passengers, and "city goods," one becomes aware of the feeling of stepping back into the past. Barefoot children are selling oranges, peanuts, and fish; and parrots and parakeets, sometimes doped with rum to make them appear tame. The mailman on the dock receives the sack of mail and gives it to his helper to carry to the post office; the island priest may receive a message or package entrusted to the captain of the boat or may even go aboard to travel to the church on another island. The others on the dock call to friends on the boat and exchange news or else simply watch the activity of docking the boat and the casting off. The people of the islands are light-skinned, although well sunburned. Many of them are vacationers from the city, dressed in brightly colored clothes, for the islands are well-known resorts. The others, barefoot, wearing shorts

mers. However, on almost every plantation there are brick-lined springs from which the inhabitants get their drinking water. Women or children carrying five-gallon cans of water on their heads, and donkeys carrying four wooden kegs of water, are common sights along the roads of the Recôncavo. For the cattle and other livestock of the plantations, drinking places are excavated wherever there promises to be enough water. Frequently, however, these go dry in the summer, especially during the drought years which occur cyclically in rhythm with the droughts of the sertão. At such times loss of cattle is prevalent, except on plantations situated near one of the small rivers.

A high-voltage electric line passes through this section leading from the generating station further inland to the capital city. Recently most of the plantations have been able to connect with this line, so that at least the owners' houses have electric light. The houses of the workers are without it except at the factory, where the mill supplies its own electric power which is carried to almost all the workers' houses.

There are four state schools and one county school distributed among the plantations. The central school in the town of Vila Recôncavo is not attended by children from the plantations. Two plantations have their own chapels, which are visited at irregular intervals by the priests of Vila Recôncavo. On the other plantations a small altar is set up in the owner's house for special occasions such as Christmas, when the town priest is invited to celebrate the Mass.

There is in the town a medical post with a visiting doctor, a dentist, and several nurses in training, which is administered by a Franciscan lay brother and supported by federal, state, and county funds and by private donations. This post is fairly recent, and its influences are spreading only slowly to the rural area. Also in the town is a small county medical post run by a resident physician. The sugar factory has a dispensary with a nurse and is visited by the town doctor. Almost every plantation has its own first-aid equipment, generally in the owner's house.

There are no fairs in the community. There are stores in the town and a large supply store at the factory, run by the corporation, and nearly every plantation has its own small store. Major purchases are made at the weekly market in Centro, in the neighboring county. There are also traveling ped-

• 443 diers (ambulantes) who walk through the area in the summer selling combs, ribbons, jewelry, and perfumes.

561 One of the most important factors influencing the fortunes of
565 the town of Vila Recôncavo is the diversity of attitudes toward
369 it held by different segments of the local population. The most powerful group, although small in number, is that of the plantation and sugar-mill owners. The orientation of this group is polarized between the capital city, Salvador, and the plantations. There is no one living in the town who is included in the same social stratum as these people, and therefore the town is not a social drawing point for them as it might be in the plantation area of the southern United States. Vila does not represent a shopping center for them, and it is not an outlet for their sugar. Since they are so near the capital, business is transacted there rather than in the small rural town with its poor communications. This group as a whole looks upon the town as a decadent and backward place. There is little or no feeling among these people that they should "do something" to improve the town, to which they feel little or no allegiance. Rather, their allegiance is first to Bahia and to their own social class in the state, and second to the Recôncavo, the original seat of that class.

The plantation and sugar-mill workers also disregard Vila to a large extent, generally not considering it worth the effort involved in getting there. For these people the market in Centro and the sugar mill store are the major attractions of the area. Their social life is centered almost entirely within the plantation or at the sugar mill.

The town dwellers themselves have an ambivalent attitude toward their town, for, while they also feel that Vila is backward and without opportunity for personal advancement, they
369 nevertheless consider themselves an urban group in contrast
365 to the plantation workers. Recent improvements in the town, such as the installation of electricity and the introduction of radios, movies, and other electrical appliances, as well as the pavement of the mud streets with cobblestones, have been a great help in alleviating the former forlorn air of the town, once known as the "abandoned" town. The local population still
[652] speaks of this earlier state a great deal, almost with the haunt-
[653] ing fear that such conditions might return. The funds for these public works came from sources outside the county, that is, from grants of money by the state government during the epoch of the interventores, the governors appointed during the dic-

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1967 SO11 Bahia Brazilian SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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occupation of the poor people, who sell them after drying in the city of Salvador. . . .[9]

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In 1837 Centro officially became a city, and for another hundred years it was the major commercial point of the sugar-Recôncavo. Gradually, however, it fell into the same pattern of decline which continues today in so much of the Recôncavo. In the 1900's a railroad was constructed from Salvador to Feira de Santana; it passed well back of Vila Recôncavo, missing it so far as to be of no aid whatsoever. Although it passed through Centro, the terminal point, Feira, became more important commercially to the state and became the new gateway to the north, west, and south of the state and of the nation. Although Centro is now a large town with a population of some ten thousand people and a weekly market which attracts people from the countryside and the neighboring towns, this is not enough to sustain it. Its port is now comparatively little used for the export of sugar, which in most cases goes directly to Salvador by train from the factories.

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The immediate cause for the decay of the town of Vila Recôncavo, and to a great extent that of Centro and of so many other older towns, was the loss of functions after the period of frontier growth. Those towns which had been religious centers lost this function. Military posts were no longer needed, and administrative activities became more restricted as the counties were cut down in size and as the state and federal governments took over more functions, such as schools and health programs. Railroads and trucks have lately reduced the importance of the port towns. The rural towns no longer interest the wealthy rural aristocracy who always dominated and supported them. More rapid transportation has made it possible for this class to move about from plantation or factory to the town or the city and back in one day instead of three, thus removing the need for a town house in which to spend the night. Better transportation has also made it possible for the other classes to go to Salvador easily for shopping, medical purposes, festivals, and visiting. Thus Salvador, because of its nearness and the relative ease of transportation, has taken on many of the functions of the rural

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9. Ibid., Letter XIII, p. 501 (author's translation).

2t Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Usina]

tion plantation. At its highest level it is a form of unwritten social security which works well, supplementing the low wages which are paid throughout the area. Even on the factory plantations there is a mild form of paternalism, which is stronger in plantations nearer to the factory and to the home of the usineiro.

The migrant workers, however, do not fit into the pattern of paternalism, mostly because they do not seek it. Indirectly they receive its benefits, for if one of them is ill he can go to the contractor who will then go to the plantation owner or usineiro for medicine or whatever is needed. But in general the migrant laborers stay by themselves and ask little or nothing of their employers.

In addition to the protection provided by a paternalistic system, the workers have the right to at least half an acre of land on the plantation where they can plant and raise their subsistence crops. Often they also plant tobacco, both in these plots and in the small areas throughout the plantation where no sugar cane is planted, such as corners where the plow cannot penetrate. The tobacco is sold to traveling buyers who scour the area at the tobacco harvest season. The money thus gained belongs to the workers, and many of them say that cash earned in such a way provides the "extras" they like during the year, such as rum, cigarettes, a pair of earrings, or some perfume.

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Group 1 (bureaucrats and merchants)	Federal and state employees	54
	Municipal employees	16
	Merchants	12
		82
Group 2 (service occupations)	Laundresses	46
	Ironers	17
	Electricians	1
	General servants	29
	Seamstresses	8
	Embroiderers	1
	Store cashiers	10
	Canoeists	2
	Bakery workers	4
		118
Group 3 (artisans)	Farmers	24
	Fishermen	132
	Bricklayers	6
	Barbers	6
	Carpenters	4
	Tailors	3
	Peddlers	3
	Woodworkers	2
	Coopers	1
	Butchers	1
	Shoemakers	1
	Quitandeiras[1]	1
		184

Group 3 workers employ the following number of people, either as employees or as apprentices:

Bricklayers	17
Workers in roças	13
Fishermen	5
Tailors	4
Woodworkers	1
Carpenters	1

(443)

1. Quitanda is an incipient store, usually run by a woman who sells vegetables and fruit from her windowsill.

trative work; he comes into office with a mayor and frequently remains through the terms of several other mayors. He therefore knows the duties well and can aid the mayor considerably. In addition, the secretary has a small store in town, capitalized at Cr$10.000,00, where drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (charque), cigars, cigarettes, grass mats, condensed milk, wooden sandals, and a few other small items are sold.

The top municipal office is that of the mayor, which in Brazil is a county-wide office. The mayor is not on the above list as an employee, because he occupies another place in the census from which these data were taken. In Vila Recôncavo the mayor has come traditionally from the top social level, the rural landowning group. The office is elective, with a four-year term, except in the 1930's and 1940's, when the mayor was chosen by the appointed governor of the state (interventor). In Vila Recôncavo, as a general rule, the mayor has little or no interest in the town or, except in a few cases, in the office, which is considered a more-or-less onerous duty. He traditionally does not accept his salary. At the time of the last election there was consternation on the part of the planters, for no one wanted the office but clearly someone had to take it. When the choice was made, the candidate--one of the usina directors--was elected, for he had no opponent. The majority of the duties are left in the hands of the secretary, the mayor doing only a minimum of supervision and contributing little that is constructive. Generally any important matters are discussed at the home of the mayor, and his orders are conveyed to the secretary by messenger or telephone.

The last mayor, Dr. Aliança, was an exception to the rule. He was interventor in 1947 and was elected mayor in 1948, serving until the general elections in the fall of 1950. He is a civil engineer and the owner of two large plantations, maintaining in perfect condition the old master's house of the former plantation in which he lives, as well as a large house in Salvador. While the roots of his family are in the Recôncavo, he himself came from the north and married into a plantation family of Vila Recôncavo. Although his family tradition has been that of sugar cane, he has not hesitated to break many of the traditional patterns of the area. One of his two plantations has been given over to experiments with other crops, such as bananas, rice, and manioc, on a relatively large scale, and also some production of milk and butter. A few

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632 years ago, after determining that these crops were not sufficiently rewarding, he made a large-scale planting of white
463 cacao. It is still too early to speak of the outcome of this ven-
[242] ture, for the trees have not yet started to give their first fruit, but this instance illustrates his usual energetic spirit.

Dr. Aliança took the office of mayor seriously and gave a
159 great deal of energy to it. His accomplishments were many
632 in the space of a few years: the paving of most of the town's
463 streets, the installation of electric lights on the streets, the formation of a company to sell electricity to those who wanted
653 it, the installation of telephone communications with the capital, and the construction of a new, modern primary school building. As a result of his personal energy and direction these works were completed, or at least nearly so, when he left the office. (According to law, the mayor cannot be re-elected). However, with the exception of building a bridge, nothing was done in the rural areas of the county. Traditionally any public works in the county are done in the county seat.

441 Many of the merchants in Group 1 are small operators.
463 The capitalization of the stores in Vila Recôncavo runs from Cr$100.000,00 to as low as Cr$5.00,00. However, no matter
• 443 how small the store, it provides a living for someone, or as
[471] they say in Vila Recôncavo, "Sempre da!" To the ordinary town citizen it is difficult to get enough capital together to open a store, but once opened it rarely closes for lack of business. Of the twelve stores in town, eight are owned and operated by men, and the other four belong to women. The best store in
441 town and the poorest one both belong to women. The "best"
444 store, Dona Carmen's, is the oldest, located on the main
[428] street leading from the boat dock. At present it is owned by Dona Carmen, who inherited it from her brother. It combines a general store and a bakery, and its prices are often slightly higher than those in other stores. It serves most of the people living in the older section of town. In addition to having the largest stock of ordinary foods, the store also carries finer packaged products such as wines, jellies, and preserves.

444 Bread is baked in the afternoon and delivered to the doors
256 of the customers' houses, still warm and with the delicious odor always associated with bread fresh from the oven. The bakery's customers for the most part have standing orders, receiving bread or rolls each day in time for supper. What is left over is hawked through the streets by the delivery boy,

2t Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

who walks about with a huge round basket on his head crying, "Pão, pão."

Dona Carmen's husband, Damião, is also a storekeeper. His store is in the downhill part of town, near the fishermen. The two stores are run separately, and the couple are doing well financially. In addition to his store, Damião also owns several canoes and fish nets which he rents to fishermen. He is the only storekeeper in town who gives credit to people who cannot pay immediately, allowing bills to run many months and even more than a year. He also allows his customers to borrow money in order to buy things outside his store--for instance fish, which he does not handle. He does not charge interest on these loans, nor seemingly make any demands on those who borrow. On the other hand the borrowers feel a sort of loyalty toward him and do not forget their debts, which they eventually manage to pay.

Three of the smallest stores are owned and operated by women, whose husbands have set them up in business in a small way in order, as one put it, to "give my wife something to do." It is considered desirable for a woman to operate a store and it is usually the beginning of something larger, for later, whenever possible, the husband will stop his own work and help operate the store. In the case of the smaller stores the owner generally lives in the same building, either alongside the store or behind it. The larger storekeepers, however, usually have separate houses. At night they lock up the stores, which are sometimes guarded by dogs or even by the cashiers who sleep there. The storekeepers are usually asked for donations to the church at the time of any special festivals, and generally become politically active after they become established in business.

The stock in most of the stores is pretty much the same, varying in amount rather than diversity: drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (the staple meat of the population), cereals, cigars, cigarettes, estivas (which include beans, rice, and farina, the three great staples of the local diet), as well as coffee, palm oil (azeite de dendê), vinegar, olive oil, garlic, onions, wooden sandals, condensed and powdered milk, salt, sugar, miudezas (small items such as matches and ribbons), toilet articles and laundry soaps, blueing agents and starch, grass mats, kerosene, and in one store aluminum kitchenware which is not sold very often, as well as nails, wire, screws, and wrapping paper and cord. One store in the

•443 upper part of town also sells cloth. Most stores also have small supplies of chocolate (considered a great treat at a party), tea, honey, canned desserts such as guava, and canned butter and cheese. As a rule fresh vegetables are not sold in the stores but peddled through the streets, since few people eat them. It is more practical to order them specially from someone going to the fair in Centro. Nearly everyone has a banana tree or an orange tree in the back yard, so that few fruits are sold in the stores. The other seasonal crops, such as cashew nuts, corn, and pineapples, are peddled from house to house. As a rule people in Vila Recôncavo buy their food in small quantities, since they have no methods of food preservation. A liter bottle is carried to the store to be filled with oil or kerosene; a small can is carried there to be filled with rice, beans, or farina. The smoked meat called charque is bought by the kilo and left hanging in the kitchen, and strips are cut from it at meal times. Although the price of charque is as high as that of fresh meat, and at times higher, people say it is more satisfying. As a rule the butcher in Vila Recôncavo kills two steers a week, on Wednesday and Saturday. The meat is carried through the streets unwrapped, hanging from a cord. It is not unusual to see a string of dogs following such a person. The meat is eaten the same day to prevent spoilage, and as a result it is usually tough and flavorless.

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*565 Most of the people included in Group I lead an upper-class kind of life; indeed to a great extent these people are the town's highest class, as will be shown in the next chapter. These are the people who do little or no labor themselves other than the white-collar work with which they earn their living. The men dress in city clothes most of the time--white shirt, tie, and suit coat--and the women are always neatly dressed with shoes and silk stockings. (The oil workers are an exception, for they do not hold white-collar jobs but wear overalls and helmets). There is always help to do the housework and the marketing. Sometimes a cook is employed; otherwise the lady of the house does her own cooking, assisted by her daughters. The laundry is sent out, or else the laundress comes to the house to do it, and water for drinking purposes and for washing is brought to the house by a man or woman employed for the purpose; members of the household never fetch water at the wells. Often the house has a cement tank and drains on the roof to catch rainwater. Nor does any member of the house fetch firewood, which is supplied by a hired person.

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2: Hutchinson E-4, 8 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

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The majority of people in Group 1 live in the older part of Vila Recôncavo, often in the old colonial sobrados, and they rarely descend the hill to the part of town inhabited by the fishermen. Indeed, they mix little with people of the town, and there is almost no social life within the group itself. Parties are expensive, and visiting from house to house in the evening is not common. Vila Recôncavo has no such pastime as the evening walk in the square. This group is seldom united on anything, especially local politics; however, the more distant the question the more apt the group is to be of one mind.

Most families in this group send their children to school in Salvador, go there on holidays whenever possible, receive the city newspaper and the Diario Oficial,[2] and shop in the city as often as they can.

Vila Recôncavo differs in one respect from most other rural Brazilian communities: it has no parish priest. The mother church of the parish (matriz) has long been unable to support its own priest, and the duties which would normally fall to such a person are performed by the Franciscans, whose convent is in Vila Recôncavo. The priests remain within the convent, taking little or no part in the social life of the town.

It will be noted that there was no mention of a drug store in Vila Recôncavo. There was none until 1945, when a nonprofit organization, the Institute of Vila Recôncavo, was opened. This is a medical post supported by federal, state, municipal, and private funds; its director is Friar Innocence, a Franciscan lay brother. The institute is housed in the spacious old buildings of the extinct Third Order of Franciscans, and consists of a pharmacy, an infants' milk and soup distributing center, a maternity post, a dental post, and other medical facilities. The dentist, who has modern equipment, is competent in his work. For several years a doctor was in daily attendance, dividing his time between the institute and the petroleum workers' camp. As a result of a complicated local political conflict, he left the institute, however, and Friar Innocence arranged for a visiting doctor to come from Centro and spend two days a week in Vila Recôncavo. Three town girls were sent to Salvador to study nursing and midwifery, so there is competent medical assistance.

[361] [574] [871] [204] [443] 793 [792] 743 [444] [792] 743 759

2. The Diario Oficial is the newspaper in which government laws and regulations are published. As a rule, it is the publication of a regulation which makes it become a law.

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vo. There are about twenty women in the town who are thus employed constantly, and others who work part-time with the fish. They go down to the beach, carrying five-gallon gasoline cans, when they see the fishermen coming in, and buy the fish by the canful at about Cr$25,00 a can, sometimes buying as many as ten canfuls. An exceptional catch for a day will run well over fifty cans, especially during the winter months. The women then take the fish home, clean them and pack them in salt for twenty-four hours, after which they put them on spits, two narrow slivers of wood cut from the dendê palm. Five fish go on each two spits. They are then hung out to dry in the sun for about two days. If it rains, the drying takes longer, and frequently many are lost. Few of the women ever become accustomed to the odor of the salted, drying fish, and they complain bitterly about it. But they know that there is always a market for the dried product, and this compensates to some extent for the unpleasantness involved. A can of fish usually provides 150 to 200 spits, and they are sold for Cr$25,00 to Cr$30,00 a hundred spits. The price is generally slightly higher if they are sold at the weekly Monday market in Centro, to which the women as a rule go themselves, or to which they send the fish with a friend. Otherwise, they are sold to the occasional tropeiros de cima[3] who come to town to buy them at a slightly lower price. It is said that the small dried fish are considered a fine dish by the people of the sertão.

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Other women prepare shrimp in much the same manner, although the prices are higher. A can of shrimp costs between Cr$100,00 and Cr$150,00 depending upon the size of the catch and the season of the year, for during Lent and especially during Holy Week, when the demand is greater, all prices of fish and seafood rise. A can of shrimp gives two hands (duas mãos), or forty spits, of shrimp, which are sold at the average of Cr$100,00 a hand; the price of the finished product varies with the price of the fresh shrimp. However, a man in Vila Recôncavo recently built an icehouse, and the women have worked less with shrimp, for the fishermen sell directly to

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3. Tropeiros de cima (troopers from up north) are men from the sertão who descend to the Recôncavo with mules loaded with farina to sell, and return north with fish and fruit from the Recôncavo.

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462 the icehouse where the shrimp are kept cool; they can then be
438 sent to Salvador every other day on the boat to be sold as fresh
251 shrimp at the market and on the streets. "Camarão da Vila,"
[443] (shrimp from Vila) the cry of the Salvador street peddlers,
is well known throughout the capital city.

463 The majority of people in Group 2 live down the hill from
[361] the older part of town, near the beach or out along the road
[571] which leads to the factory. They are more or less dependent
[476] upon Group 1, not only for the money they receive in return
for services, but also for many kinds of favors which fall under the heading of patronship. They are seldom able to employ the services of Group 3 for such jobs as house building or repairing; they must rely on an old form of cooperative labor, called the batalhão (work group), to make or repair a house wall or to put on a new thatch roof. Frequently a patron will arrange for another of his "dependents" to transport the mud necessary for the palm thatch (taipa), and there is no cost involved for the recipient; but she must arrange the labor.

463 The people of Group 2 fetch their own water from the wells,
312 and usually their own firewood from the tideswamps. There
[313] are several men and women in town who make a business of carrying these two commodities. Such work is contractual. A household contracts for so many cans or barrels of water a day and so many loads of firewood a week. If they do not have enough money for these services they must carry them out themselves. During the dry summer months fetching water is a tedious business, for the majority of the wells dry up early in the summer. In the very dry summer of 1950-51, all the wells in town but one went dry. The one which continued to supply water did so at a much diminished rate. This well is completely encased in cement, for it provides the only drinking water in town. There is a small pipe serving as a spigot. During the dry season it takes from ten to twenty minutes to fill a five-gallon tin can from this pipe. As a result, there were always long lines of women waiting for water, and a sojourn of three or four hours at the well was common. Many of the more ambitious women used to get up at two or three in the morning and go to the well, making several
[821] trips so they would be free of this onerous duty during the day.
[492] This, however, took a great deal of courage, for most people in Vila Recôncavo are afraid of the dark, and no timid woman would make the trip out to the well at night. By general agreement, the men who carry water in barrels on donkeys walked

226 43 men say that the fish are leaving, while others say there are just as many as ever. It is a difficult thing to prove one way or the other, for written records of the annual catches are only recent. However, there is no such thing as being unable to sell the fish they bring in. Many people in town have increased their consumption of fresh fish as a result of inflation, for it is less expensive than dried or fresh meat. The fishermen themselves eat a great deal of fish, always keeping enough out of a catch for their own family. The planters of the rural area complain that the fresh fish never arrive at the plantations any more as they did in the past. This is probably due to the icehouse in the town. The fishermen sell first to their "usual customers," the women who work with xangó and shrimp; what is left is sold to the icehouse to be packed and shipped to Bahia, rather than being sent out to the country.

226 The jereré, a small basketlike net built around an iron ring 1 1/2 feet in circumference, is used by women and children along the shore and is part of a subsistence activity. It catches only a small crab (siri), an occasional eel, and other small fish which are cooked for the table in the form of moqueca, a sort of stew highly seasoned with peppers and dendê oil. The tideswamps abound in a large crab called the caranguejo, which is also highly prized for the table. Children often catch these, but a man who does so is called a caranguejeiro, a derogatory term. The hunter seeks the crab by sticking his arm down into its hole, which is usually very deep, at least arm's length. As a result he is always covered with the thick black mud so typical of the tideswamps. Often a tropeiro de cima comes to the town and commissions someone to catch the crabs, which he wraps carefully in mud and leaves and carries to the northern hinterland to sell.

463 241 The second largest subgroup in Group 3 is composed of the twenty-four gardeners (roçeiros) who are engaged in small-scale commercial farming, rather than subsistence horticulture. They live in town and have their small fields on the outskirts of Vila Recôncavo. All of these fields are located on the plantation Engenho Da Vila ("P" on map of community), and they range from one, two, or three acres in size to as many as fifteen acres, rented from the plantation at Cr$100,00 an acre per year. The major crops are manioc, bananas, and to a lesser extent tobacco, sugar cane for chewing (cana de chupar), corn, beans, and squash. Because there are only 265

252 they produce. The juice which is squeezed out is saved, and starch is extracted from it to be used in pressing clothes. The nonpoisonous variety of manioc (aipim) is used to a much smaller extent. Usually the tuber is boiled in water and then eaten as though it were a potato, for it does not need any processing to render it edible.

241 Ten of the twenty-four gardeners concentrate on manioc,
463 while the others raise bananas. Most of them also grow their own household subsistence crops, scattered among the manioc and bananas, such as corn, beans, squash, and often a few shoots of excellent tobacco. Many of them also produce a quarter or half acre of a heavy type of sugar cane (cana de chupar) which is stripped of its bark, cut into short pieces, and masticated, the pulp being spit out after the person has [146] sucked out the juice. Almost everyone indulges in this, and [825] the sugar which is absorbed is undoubtedly a great source of [789] energy. The plots (roças) are fenced and protected by an ox skull stuck on one of the fence posts to keep out the evil eye.

There are many gardeners to the west of the town who rent
241 their small plots from either the Engenho da Vila or the fed-
463 eral school. This area has not produced sugar cane for many
554 years, for it lacks the surface covering of massapê. These
[427] gardeners are often called matutos ("hicks"), real backwoodsmen who get along on subsistence agriculture and seldom leave their rural neighborhood. They are as far removed from contact with modern civilization as anyone could be while living in the Recôncavo. They live in well-hidden, small houses of mud and thatch, and one can ride through this section without seeing anyone.

443 The peddlers (ambulantes) listed in Group 3 have their
463 houses in Vila Recôncavo but go from town to town selling their wares. While they do some trading at the fairs they also cover a regular route independent of the fairs. Compadresco, [608] the system of godparentship, is important to them, for the houses of such relations give them a base of operations in every town they visit. One of the three is a man who buys and sells jewelry, and the other two are women; one sells cloth for dresses and the other sweets (doces), peanuts, and dried shrimp. The latter is one of the famous street merchants (bahianas) of Salvador; she sits on a street corner before a portable table selling favorite Bahian snacks such as acarajé and abará. She goes to Salvador on the boat on Saturdays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, returning to Vila Recôncavo the

following days to make new supplies. On the return trip she brings wheat flour, peanuts, potatoes, and whatever is not available in Vila Recôncavo, as special orders (encomendas) for people in the town, who pay the price of the article plus a small percentage for her trouble in doing the shopping.

The people of Group 3 do most of their own labor; the men follow their trade while their womenfolk do the housework, care for the children, fetch water and firewood, and do their own laundry. This group also uses the batalhão for house building and repairing, although many employ the services of a carpenter to do the woodwork or a bricklayer to make a foundation, in contrast to the people of the preceding group, whose houses are usually built with a minimum of crude woodwork and without masonry foundations. The majority of men in this group, the fishermen, live in the lower part of town, in the areas known as Boqueirão, Caquende, and Cortume (see map of town). The others are scattered throughout the town, up the hill in back of the area of sobrados, and on the side of the hill sloping down to the beach. The fishermen have their own chapel built near the beach, which they support with the tithe (dizimo), a tenth of their earnings. The people in the fishing group seldom go up the hill to the older part of town, feeling that they do not belong there.

A few words need to be said about Group 4, which consists of thirty-one people who do not fit into the other three groups. Eleven of them, who listed themselves as unemployed, are unskilled persons, without a trade, and without a patron or service employment skill. For the most part they are women, and although an examination of the census data shows that they have no visible means of support, they do engage in subsistence activities such as carrying water, cutting spits for xangó, making dendê palm oil, or making fish nets, but not on a regular contract basis. Since they engage in a variety of small independent activities and work for different people at different times, they listed themselves as unemployed in the sense of being without a regular occupation.

Nine people in Group 4 lived in the town at the time of the census but worked at the Usina São Pedro. Three men worked on the sugar plantation nearest town, preferring to live in town rather than on the plantation, since the trip back and forth is so short. And, finally, the group includes eight people who were employed by the Institute of Vila Recôncavo as nurses, pharmacists, bookkeeper, and bartender. These people

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The plantation worker's world is small, and conversational topics are limited to family matters such as births, deaths, marriages, sickness, and other intimate details of personal life, the problems of work, and difficulties of any sort. The planter can know the daily life and thoughts of the workers only through observation, for he himself lives quite differently. However, his knowledge of the workers is apt to be profound in spite of the differences, and he knows much more of their lives than they know of his. On the other hand, visiting between the workers and the members of Class B is on a much more equal basis, for the differences between their modes of living and thinking are small.

When the workers are invited to a party by the planters, it is usually an affair given for them, such as a Christmas celebration. At such a time the planter is host and spectator, rather than host and participant. At other times the workers may get together a song and dance group, a samba, and go to the owner's house for the evening. This is frequently explained as "keeping the patron from being lonely." Again the owner is spectator, for the samba, performed exclusively by women, is a type of folk dance seldom engaged in by the more sophisticated upper class.

Class B in the rural area is only beginning to feel any sort of group consciousness, for the occupational institutions it represents are relatively new and it is not yet aligned in any way with the corresponding class in town. There are two overseers who lack any formal education--indeed, who cannot read or write. In all cases the male members of this class have set up and maintained a family, educating their children and seeing to it that they marry as well as possible. As a rule such men are "self-made"--they have risen from the ranks of workers as a result of their own ability, sagacity, sense of responsibility, and desire to improve themselves. They are distinguished from the workmen by these traits, which seem to develop even further as they have the opportunity to use their initiative.

Members of this group usually acquire numerous possessions of their own, such as horses, oxen and carts, mules, and donkeys which can be put to gainful use. They also operate small stores on their plantations--in one case even a chain of stores, one on each of three plantations. They also try to buy a small farm somewhere nearby. Frequently the employer facilitates such acquisitions as a sort of bonus, lending money or even giving some to the overseer.

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change. New faces and basically different relationships pre- [466]
vail at Usina São Pedro.

Another change, but this time in tune with the past, was an 178
increase of capital, applied to the improvement of the factory. 249*
The capacity of the mill has been greatly enlarged. However, 433
the agricultural part of the combination continues as it did be- [471]
fore, with no innovations. The result is that the factory is [466]
able to mill and produce sugar much more quickly than it can
be supplied with sugar cane. The hierarchical aspect of the
factory as earlier diagrammed remains the same, and each
plantation is still run as a separate unit.

In contrast, the private plantation in the community of Vila 178
Recôncavo has undergone relatively little change in these five 249*
years. Always the most conservative element in the Recôncavo, [466]
the private plantation continues to retain its distinguishing fea-
ture: the personal, face-to-face, paternalistic owner-worker
relations. The hierarchical pattern remains the same. Opera- 178
tions are still basically hand- and animal-powered, but pri- 249*
vate planters are slowly introducing mechanization in certain 461
aspects of the process, especially that of transportation; [492]
trucks and tractor-drawn wagons carry cane from the fields
to the factory. Tractors and mechanical plows are used to an [493]
increasingly large extent in the preparation of the soil, and [407]
mechanical cultivators are already in use on some planta- [492]
tions. However, the bulk of the work is still done by hand, [407]
and traction is supplied by oxen and mules. As yet no me- [242]
chanical loaders, ditch-diggers, or planters have appeared,
and little use is made of fertilization or herbicides. Few sci-
entific agricultural practices are in use. The planter is still
first and foremost a "practical" man.

Relations between the factory and the private plantations 178
have also undergone considerable change, in both business 249*
and social aspects. The new managers of the factory have 571
succeeded in almost completely alienating the private planters
who supply them with sugar cane. Not only the members of
the extended Conde family, but also other cane suppliers re-
sented the highhanded, brusque methods of the new managers.
Wishing to break completely with the past, the new managers [443]
instituted several new policies in relations with the cane sup- [452]
pliers. Formerly the private suppliers bought sugar by the [407]
sack, bought their supplies at the company store, and had
their machines repaired at the company workshops, paying
for such services at the end of the harvest season. The sup-

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begun to live together. But it is a general policy of Petrobrás that its employees establish regularized households and register their children, as the benefits of social legislation and insurance must be paid to legal beneficiaries, such as wives and children. Because of the many recent marriages, there are no longer any houses available in Vila Recôncavo, nor in Milagres, and there has been a spurt of housebuilding.

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There have also been some shifts in emphasis in the structure of the community. While the factory nucleus is no longer the scene of social gathering for the upper class of the area, the structure of the factory-private plantation system ensures that it continues to be the economic center as long as sugar cane is being planted in the area. The system of quotas established for the private planter and the factory by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol requires that planter and factory cooperate in supplying and receiving sugar cane. Also, the physical structure of the area, in which the factory is the center of the network of a small railroad which reaches out to each of the private properties, strengthens the impression of the factory as the center of activities.

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The possible future shift from sugar to cacao will of course diminish the importance of the sugar factory. However, in the meantime there is a new factor which will give more importance than ever to the factory: a feira, or market place. The county of Vila Recôncavo does not have a weekly market. For many years the county officials have wanted to establish one, not only for increased municipal income, but also to help attract more people to the area and to make life easier for the population. A market place is now under construction at the factory nucleus. When the market is completed, the factory town will become at least a weekly center of attraction for many people of the surrounding plantations.

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The development of the petroleum industry is bringing new life to the town of Vila Recôncavo, to the nearby town of Milagres, and to the new city of Conselho. Petrobrás cannot develop a nucleus on the land which belongs to the factory or to the private owners, and therefore it must concentrate any local community building efforts in the old public towns which already exist. Petrobrás, indirectly, through the county court of Vila Recôncavo, will soon contribute considerably to the county income. The same sort of compensation which was worked out in regard to the planters is now being arranged for the county, through taxes on the finished products from

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4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

APPENDIX C

THE BOMFIM FESTIVAL

796 Certain popular festivals, like the Sabado and Segunda
565 Feira do Bomfim, are largely taken over and even dominated
by the lower classes. Individuals from the upper circles,
[439] both white and colored, attend only in their automobiles,
driving slowly back and forth along the principal streets and
through the crowds, or watch the festivities from the windows and doorways of near-by houses. In the words of a local citizen, the festival of Bomfim "springs from the people themselves, who regard O Senhor do Bomfim as their patron saint. It belongs to them more than Carnival does; Carnival is more refined (*mais elevado*), more under the control of the educated, 'cultured' Bahians."

796 Preceded by exclusively religious ceremonies, the celebration begins on the third Saturday in January and continues through the following Sunday and Monday. A large part of the population attends. Formerly, it is said, all business houses closed for the festival, and a few still do, while others take only a half-holiday on Monday. The celebration opens
[368] at the Church of Bomfim, which crowns a gently sloping hill
[443] on the peninsula of Itapagipe which juts out into Todos
os Santos Bay to the north of the port. Black women in
[265] *bahiana* costume sit around the edges of the crowd selling
[257] such wares as *cocada*,[1] cakes, and other confections, mangoes, peanuts, *umbús*, and *cajús*.[2] In the *adro*, or open space, in

[1] *Cocada* is a confection made of coconut and sugar.

[2] *Cajús* are the fruit of the cashew tree. *Umbús* are a green, smooth-skinned fruit, about the size of a small lime.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

front of the Church of Bomfim, booths are erected, each of which has been named for the patron saint of the proprietor or bears an inscription like *Fé em Deus* ("Faith in God"), *Salve a Nova Aurora* ("Hail to the Dawn"), or *A Bahianinha* ("Dear Little *Bahiana*"). At these booths one may purchase such famous Bahian dishes of African origin as *aberêm*, *caruru*, *vatapá*, *efó*, and *acarajé*, as well as drinks and other refreshments. *Kermesses*, or small booths given over to games of chance similar to those of traveling "carnivals" in the United States, bear such names as *Lua Cheia* ("Full Moon") or *Abrigo dos Filhos do Povo* ("Shelter for the Children of the People"). A brass band, composed of blacks from the fire department in uniform, plays intermittently from a raised platform in the center of the square.

At night the entire front of the church is ablaze with electric lights. Fireworks almost constantly sputter and bang in the air. An immense crowd mills about the *adro*, while other people sit at tables, eating, drinking, talking, and watching the festivities. About two hours after midnight, the *terno* of *Os Ciganos* ("the Gypsies") appears. It is a band of approximately thirty people, marching two abreast, ten musicians with brass instruments in the lead, followed by a dozen young men each of whom holds aloft a wooden staff branched at the top and lavishly decorated with paper flowers and Japanese lanterns, and an equal number of girls twelve to fourteen years old, dressed in gypsy costumes and shaking castanets and tambourines. After parading around the square, the *terno* halts in front of the church, greets the patron saint, then turns and ascends the platform vacated for this purpose by the band. The girls dance, sing, and play their instruments while one of the men performs a frenzied dance, twirling round and round a standard bearing the name and insignia of the terno.

[SALVADOR]

/12 cont./

called Negroes because of the ignominious and base implications of a term that puts them on the same footing as the people of the coast of Africa destined to become slaves of the Whites. The true African Negroes were at that time called Negroes of Guinea, Negroes of the coast, or Negroes of nation, that is to say, of such and such an African tribe. In a general way the term Negro was applied to every slave, to the point that in 1773 a Portuguese monarch complained that in Brazil there were still "persons so wanting in feelings of humanity and religion as to keep among them slaves, some of whom are whiter than they themselves, under the names of Blacks and Negresses, or even métisses /plural feminine form of métis, a person of mixed blood/." The sons of African Negroes born in Brazil were called creoles, a term applied even today, in the feminine, to black women and mulattresses who dress like the Bahian women, with the troquette, the very full skirt, the white, embroidered, and very décolleté blouse, and the colored shawl around the bust, a costume worn by the Africans of Nigeria and even in our day, with certain local modifications, by the women belonging to the religious cults of African origin, the candomblés. The creoles of Bahia constitute a typical spectacle in the streets of the city; one can see them there, making their way to a fetishist-cult center or sitting beside stalls in which they display, especially during the popular festivals, the foods of the famous local cuisine, which is also of African origin to a great extent.

The words pardo and mestiço, both having, as we have seen, the meaning of mulatto, serve to designate the descendants of a cross between Europeans and Blacks. Every variation of these types, depending on the intensity of the color or the nature of the hair, was formerly designated by a particular name fallen into disuse today. One speaks of light mulatto or dark mulatto, according to the predominance of one or the other of the characteristics; the light mulattoes, when their hair is very similar to that of Whites, are also called cabo verdes or rôxos. A young girl showing few traces of crossbreeding is a roxinha or even a cabrocha; in this case the inhabitants of Bahia use a diminutive in order to remove from the word any pejorative meaning.

/17 cont./

175 439 167 829 609 Given the isolation in which Brazil remained at least until 1808, the moment when for the first time its ports were opened to international commerce, given too the fact that Bahia was never a center of massive European immigration, like certain southern states, the foreigner is received by the people of Bahia with a mixture of curiosity and distrust. At the same time, *563 the emigrant is easily absorbed here by the milieu and likewise adapts himself to the customs and norms of local life. The 829 Portuguese emigrants, for example, are pu. in a special category; *563 one has the habit of saying that not one of them is ever, properly speaking Brazilian, but that he is never, properly speaking, a foreigner either. In spite of the two world wars, one nowhere notes manifestations of antipathy with regard to German, Austrian, or Italian emigrants. The nationals of these nations have, in general, an excellent reputation because they are considered good workers, because they marry Brazilians and remain in the country when their businesses prosper. The vast majority of the population and even the persons who are hostile to the "Russian" merchants never have anti-Semitic sentiments. When, however, a Jewish group publicly protested against the presentation of a European musician accused of having had ties with Hitlerism in the past, the association that organizes concerts of famous musicians rejected "this attempt at outside interference dictated by /18/ racial prejudice," declaring that its activities ought to remain "above all religious, philosophical, political, racial, or class prejudice." And yet numerous Israelites are members of this association.

[443] [178] The "Arabs," although living quite isolated in accordance with their customs, marry Brazilians, and no hostility is ever manifested with regard to them; at the time when some of them were carrying on the trade of itinerant vendors of fabrics and hardware, they were ridiculed somewhat, it is true, but that stopped with the disappearance of the last peddlers.

[SALVADOR]

/18 cont./

829 365 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, however, a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against 829 *563 578 the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions. [443] It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when tension is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid [152] [458] [579] rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the beginning of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments. But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two [261] groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

529 *563 575 743 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards, Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients from Bahia, white or colored.

795 771 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most 798 Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious 621 groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the